cf: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NY9 Tzeltal NY9

As is the case in the highlands of Guatemala, the outstanding social unit, corresponding to a tribe; is the population of several hundred or several thousand Indians whose activities center in one leading settlement from which the community gets its name. As in Guatemala, these communities vary greatly with respect to the proportion of Indians living permanently in this central settlement. Dr. Tax[16] uses the phrase "town nucleus type" for Guatemalan Indian communities in which all or a large majority of the Indians live in the principal settlement, and the phrase "vacant town type" for those in which most of the Indians live in scattered rural habitations, coming to the town center occasionally for commercial, governmental, or festal reasons. Among the Tzeltals the town-nucleus type is less atypical than it is in Guatemala, and the town-nucleus communities are suffering from a scarcity of land. The following communities may be regarded as of this type: Amatenango, San Martin, Tenango, Sivacá, Petalcingo, and probably also Chanal and Citalá, although at least in the case of the last two, there are also considerable numbers of Indians dwelling in the countryside. The vacant-town type of community is represented by Cancuc, Oxchuc, Bachajón, and Chilón. It will be seen that both types are represented in both highlands and lowlands. With respect to this classification Tenejapa, Guaquitepec, and Yajalon are intermediate, and illustrate Tax's "Type III" in that many of the people live in the town and work their fields closely surrounding it, while many live on their farms and only occasionally come to town.

As in the highlands of Guatemala, the ethnic distinction between Indian and Ladino is marked, here also the Ladinos are much outnumbered by the Indians, and here too the Ladinos are very predominately town-dwellers. In Chilón and Yajalón the permanent town-dwellers are chiefly Ladinos; the permanent population of Oxchuc consists of about seventy Ladino families; the several thousand Indians live about the town and in the country. In other towns (Tenejapa,[17] Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Petalcingo) a considerable number of Ladino families have become established, although in these communities there are more Indians even among the inhabitants of the town itself than there are Ladinos. A general disposition to exclude Ladinos from permanent settlement in Indian communities is most marked in Cancuc, the site of the uprising of 1712,[18] and where in 1935 some Ladino merchants were slain by the Indians. No Ladinos reside there now. In Amatenango, Chanal, Bachajón, San Martin, Tenango, and Sivacá the Indians are also unfavorable to settlement by Ladinos; in each of the three last-named villages the only Ladino residents are the school-teacher and the government-imposed municipal agent. Recently a few Ladino tradespeople have settled in Bachajón, and a "Center of Native Education" has been established there (as also at Amatenango) by the Mexican national government. In the lowland towns of

[16] Tax, [illegible] pp. [illegible] 144.

[17] It is interesting that in Tenejapa, where both Indians and Ladinos live in town, the two groups recognize different [illegible] patron saints, and there are separate schools for Indians and for Ladinos, whereas in Oxchuc, where all the Indians live outside the town, the same santos are worshipped by both groups, but the Ladinos maintain their own celebrations on the days of the festival.

[18] Vicente Pineda, [illegible].

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive.

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistán.) Other money crops of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal communities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef-cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

177 262 ious meats, and canned foods such as salmon, sardines, and sausages.

231 [222] The keeping of bees is not widespread. The Indians instead take advantage of the wild honey, which is commonly gathered during certain parts of the year. Tenango was the only town where I observed beehives next to the huts. The bees, large and yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought from the woods. When a tree is found with one of these beehives, the section containing the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the ends of this section are covered with jícaras, which are stuck on with clay.

Settlement Patterns

Town and Parajes

632 621 361 All the communities consist of a town center and a number of settlements, called parajes, which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community; there the municipal authorities have their offices, [563] and the church and shops are located. In general, the Ladinos reside in the center, their houses arranged in aligned streets, but some communities (Chanal, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse to accept Ladinos in the town permanently. The Indians prefer the parajes, where the huts are dispersed irregularly.

162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of Indians who reside in the town center varies. In some communities (Chanal, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the people live in the capital. In Chanal, with a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside in the center and so it is a "nucleated town," according to Tax's terminology. In contrast, the most common community is the "vacant town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517 inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the center. The least frequent is an intermediate type, where some live in the center and some in the parajes, as typified by

[P. 203-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

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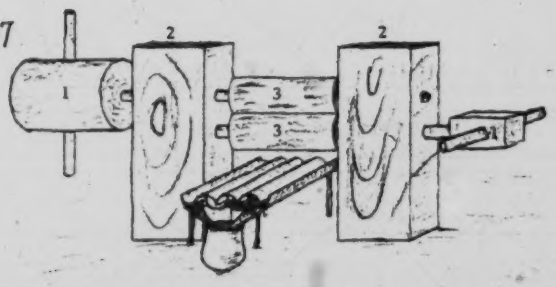

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

184
608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial
when the godchild dies, as is expected from
608 the godchild when the godparents die. In
182 these communities, compadrazgo consti-
tutes both an important religious obligation
and a means of establishing friendship and
cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities
whose activities are interrelated. The first
group, formed by members of the cabildo
and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs
of the community. The ayuntamiento main-
tains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The
presidente municipal and the intermediate
authorities are popularly elected and then
confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both eth-
nic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to war-
rant the claim that "justice is equal for
everybody." In 1936 the state government
ruled that in all municipios where the in-
digenous population predominates, the
presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum.

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule.

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked.

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level.

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists.

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us.

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

shadow, another wall far behind. A Mexican told us that Tenejapa lay in the valley thus enclosed. With the cool evening air our animals picked up, taking us along at a good trot. We swung around a green dell, up under one cliff into the opening, over the threshold of a ridge. Some Indians sitting there waved to us. Beyond was a tiny, lush meadow and a brook where some Mexicans were making clay tiles. There was another rocky hillock, around which we swung to find ourselves trotting down a well-cobbled street lined with little white cottages, white-walled gardens, and roses. To us, looking for something yet wilder than the villages we had seen, the neat houses and candle-lit casement windows, the doors of tiny shops, the flowers, and the shingled roofs were an utter surprise. In the streets was a sprinkling of touselled-headed Indians

FIG. 328—Tenejapa, Chis. Church and Plaza.

and Ladino people of much fairer complexion than the typical, Lowland Mexicans. We rode past a gaunt, high-shouldered stone church into the plaza, a field of about two acres planted with a few trees, and with a fine town fountain of icy water in the middle (fig. 328). Along one side ran the Cabildo, a long, one-storied building with a very deep veranda, gorgeously painted in cubist fashion, red, yellow, green and blue. Here we halted to unpack and present our credentials to the *Presidente Municipal*.

Tenejapa is really two towns in one. There is the Ladino town, around which lie the houses of some eight thousand Indians, by local

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula pack-trains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa. Chia. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Hart (1902) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarised here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
1,597	1,725	1,490	290	75	15	9	1	100

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	78.9	86.4	68.6	18.3
FACIAL INDEX	81.6	94.5	69.6	25.0
NASAL INDEX	89.9	101.5	64.1	36.9

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the forehead as at Cancuc.

Fig. 330—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians in the street.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presidente Municipal*, and their disputes are tried by the local judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on publicly with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once. One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and indifferent judge.

The cargadores from Cancuc arrived shortly after dark, still lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly periphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were characterized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat-bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups (Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M. Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civilization in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528 when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuatl name, Amatenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad*, or Spanish political unit based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75 families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202 women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo, and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great increases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly opened ejido lands.

The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for administration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

The center. The center of Tzo'ontahal is called the "center [or navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is endogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893), and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje*, or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Ladino butchers in the neighboring town. The cows are not milked either for local consumption or sale. Fertilizers are for the most part wasted since the cattle roam freely in the communal pasture lands except in the case of a few corrals owned by families. Hides are cured rather crudely and are used for saddle packs or protective aprons by the men, but none are sold.

The cooperatives. The notion of a cooperative to mobilize capital had been introduced by the I.N.I. in 1957 with the inauguration of a store owned by over one hundred members of the community. In the first years of its existence, the cooperative had some difficulties, primarily in convincing the Indians that when the returns on shares were lower in any year from prior levels, it did not indicate that the agents were stealing the money.

The cooperative store was bought by the Indians of the town from the I.N.I. in 1964 after the members had some trouble receiving returns on their shares. There are now one hundred and twenty-two members. The profits of 1965 were reinvested in the purchase of the corn-grinding mill. Current profits at the store are lent at 5 percent per month interest. The store grosses 80 to 100 pesos in sales daily, and the mill grossess 100 pesos. The wages paid to the storekeeper are 300 pesos and to the miller 250 per month.

Now that the cooperative is independent of the government, one of the stated policies is not to sell a single share to a Ladino or member of another community. "We do not want to give gifts to the Ladinos," the secretary of the cooperative told me. He added, "There was a Ladino in Teopisca who wanted to join with 5,000 pesos, but we wouldn't let him in. If you let them in, they would come to dominate the pueblo." The cooperative store does not share profits with the consumers but gives dividends. The 11,380-peso assets in the year 1965 were reinvested in stock and in the purchase of corn at harvest which was then sold at one and a half or two times the sale price.

The Indians developed their first independent cooperative in the ownership of a *marimba*, a musical instrument like a xylophone, operated by eight men of the community. This enterprise failed because the players never developed sufficient skill to be commissioned to play outside of town.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

hall, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of the new officials. Residents of the barrios and colonias can never rise to any position above that of assistant judge, but once they have served in this post they may become principales in their own localities. One week the first regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the third regidor from Alannantik, and the next week the second regidor from Ahk'olnantik serves with the fourth regidor from Alannantik. The ten police are ranked in five levels with representatives from each side at every level in the series except for the fourth level, which is occupied by police from the barrios.

These civil officials, called as a group the *hu?eletik*, those who are "able" (in control), constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. To reach a high post, an official must first pass through each of the lower positions in the hierarchy. Outside of this ranked hierarchy, the posts of president and síndico are occupied by young men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy was, until the present generation, limited to a few men in their thirties. With increasing literacy, the competition for these posts is growing.[2] Men who have such skills are called upon as signers of official documents and are called *firmanetik*.

Also existing outside of the traditional hierarchy is the post of secretary which had, until 1965, been occupied by a Ladino. This was the only post which was paid; it also provided opportunity for earning extra income by preparing "acts," or official documents, and fines from court cases. The present incumbent is an Indian of Alannantik.

Because Tzo?ontahal's hierarchy is still a linked series of civil and religious posts, the structure of the civil hierarchy cannot be considered independently from that of the religious hierarchy. The major segments of the religious hierarchy are the *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces or captains of the fiestas. The internal ranking of the sixteen mayordomos depends on the number of religious posts the incumbent has filled and on the rank order of the saints he serves.

The alfereces, or captains of the fiestas, provide a ceremonial link be-

2. Julio de la Fuente (1964:30) has summarized the effect of literacy in breaking the homogeneity of the community since the literate Indians have received greater privileges and release from communal work. When the entire community is educated, the monopoly of literacy is broken.

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the department capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles.

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The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo*, pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

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In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes for the "qualitative" change in local political organization.

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Competition between Caciques

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There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzo'ontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Augustín, or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster described below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the community; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become caciques have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hierarchy as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique. The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzo'ontahal. The extractable profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illustrated by the recent careers of two residents of Tzo'ontahal. In the 1950s and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of cacique. He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for interest and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian partners.

4. Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

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acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

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159 *they are my friends. I prefer to send it there than to Teopisca, because*
895 *they are campesinos.*
891 *"I have proved to you I am a friend of campesinos and of the poor. I*
563 *don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are dis-*
177 *tilling liquor. This is an affair of the civil authorities, not of me. If some*
178 *come to tell me that so and so has killed someone, I close my ears.*
557 *"What is more important in life is what is in your head, not your cloth-ing. Do you understand me?"*

All reply, "Yes, maestro."

"If we are going to win over Teopisca and Villa Las Rosas, our children have to work hard. I had the luck of receiving a medal because I am one of the principal teachers and know the preparation of teachers. The Jefe of Operation put a medal on my breast and gave me an abrazo. *Here is the picture taken two years ago—Lupe get the rag!" Schoolmaster dusts photograph with rag. "Here you see me with the medal on my breast.*

"Who is more important—the one who accuses me and has to put his finger to sign the declaration, or those of you who can write?

"Now the schoolmaster does not give permission to let the children stay away from school. We do not have authority to release the children except for illness. Those children who go most often to school are those who get ahead. They speak idioma [*native language*] *when they play, but when they enter the school they speak* Castellano [*Spanish*].

"Now you know everything. I am happy with you. If there are some who are not happy that I am here, then I shall go happily. There are schools where schoolmasters hit the children. There is a school where the Indian teacher hit a child three times. This is a crime!

"I know where all this talk comes from. Don Ramon [Ladino secretary who supported opposing candidate mentioned above] has a truck—he and Doña Juana. They buy wheat and corn at half price. If the Indians do not pay off, they get double the return at the next harvest. My compadres have come and told me. Those who are with him are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him. They have two trucks in Teopisca. They come and ask people to sign a paper supporting their candidate. People sign because they are afraid she [Juana] will use witchcraft."

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President: "Ramon left her, but then he went back to her because of witchcraft."

Schoolmaster "This is the group which is against me and is against the pueblo."

Schoolmaster's wife: "You see how happy the pueblo is." She waves her hand to plaza where marimba is playing for the fiesta. "Everything is well organized. Not as it was formerly when Don Ramon was in town."

President: "You see how the pueblo is learning. The children are learning to knit. Everyone knits."

Schoolmaster, giving oath of office to parents: "In the name of the Secretary of Public Education, I ask you to serve with faithfulness to the pueblo. The school is the defense of the country. It is preparing you for tomorrow. The society of parents of the school represents you. Your children represent the future of the country in the sign of the three colors, and you have the obligation to defend the country. The country will become great when all the children know how to write. When Mexico has need of its children, the children will be prepared to die for the country. You should see that schools prepare the children. See Mexico is a country united.

"I have been here since 1953. It is not now as it was then. We have water, a highway. You are not in the state you were then.

"Today we see a kiosk." He waves hand to plaza. "Tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory. It will be a grand pueblo, a civilized pueblo. There was a schoolmaster here who worked two days a week. I have worked every day since 1953. I secured eight scholarships for the children. If there are some who didn't go, it is because their father does not send them. If there are those who say the school does not function, they are traitors to the pueblo. Honorable Society of Fathers of Families, I am the schoolmaster. I shall explain. Give an applause." Applause.

The schoolmaster's discourse reveals several aspects of his position in the town. He indicates the lesson he has learned in avoiding interference in the town's social control system ("I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are taking out trago. This is an affair of the

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civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination petition for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely integrated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzo'ontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the government to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authorities into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfillment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

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The townspeople feel that they own the church, and many resent the intrusion of the priest who resides sometimes two or three days a week in the adjoining rectory. In the past five years, however, the priest has succeeded in asserting more control over the church: he has forbidden drinking in the church or in the courtyard, a prohibition that resulted in an open confrontation with the leading cofrade (Chapter 9); and he now controls the keys to the church and to the money boxes, formerly the responsibility of the fiscal. The two lay sisters who are in residence during the week hold the keys and are in charge of the upkeep of the church.

People always show respect for the church by removing their hats as they pass the entrance, even when they are at a distance. As they enter the church, they always kneel and cross themselves. They may spit on the floor of the church, for this is not a sign of disrespect.

The complementarity of church and cabildo is still formally recognized in ceremonial events: participants bow to the church and then to the cabildo during processions. The transfer of sacred symbols from one locale to the other at the time of the inauguration of civil and religious officials ceremonially signifies the integration of civil and religious authority, despite the growing separation in day-to-day functions in each of the domains.

The church serves as a staging platform for the images and symbolic offerings to them in the annual cycle of ceremonies. During the nine days of ceremony accorded to the major saints, their images are moved to the center of the altar or to the center of the nave. The staging effects are particularly notable during the fiesta of Holy Week, when the reenactment of the crucifixion is performed in the nave. The mayordomos, under the direction of the fiscal and the lay sisters, move the saints about and prepare adornments of flowers and pine needles.

The church is the locus for the weekly mass given by the priest. The men stand on the left side of the church (facing the altar), while the women kneel or sit on the floor to the right. A few benches near the altar are occupied by the Ladinos of the area who attend the mass. The lay sisters indicate to the congregation when they should kneel and rise in response to the cues of the sermon or mass.

In addition to these scheduled events, the church serves as a locus where

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den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

During the recess period the children play individual competitive games except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the Ladino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activities, the following features emerge:

1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house, males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order coordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church, the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is reflected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

T M 175 423 621 The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards were not contested by the Mexican Government, but during the last century there have been some redistributions of the boundaries to better fit changes in the size of the population of the different villages in the area. Besides, although it was not legally approved, large chunks of the territory of the communities were taken away by the local ranchers who had the backing of the state politicians. As a result of the land invasion by the ranchers, the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango controlled, until recently in this century, very little land, mostly temporal, the better land being in the hands of the local ladino ranchers.

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After the Mexican Revolution of the twenties, the fincas (ranches) were expropriated by the national government, according to new policies of agrarian reform, and under the presidential regime of Avila Camacho were returned to the villages as Ejidos (cooperatively owned land).

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The territory of the villages is divided today, by use, into land for agriculture (?ulabal [irrigated], pomultik [hot-country] and temporal), land for residential sites, and land for lumbering and pasture. Within the communities the over-all authority that controls land is the Ayuntamiento, the body which forms the civil branch of the civil-religious government that is the ultimate authority in village affairs. The Ayuntamiento controls both the communal lands and the Ejido lands.

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The Ejidos function very much like the communal lands, in that they are "owned" by the community. Every household head is a member of the ejido cooperative, and has rights to cultivate a parcel within the ejido. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code,

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In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?"

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out.

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below.

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre-

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